1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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either working or doing business in Taipei. This group was composed mostly of men, although a large number of boys above the age of sixteen and also some women and girls were included. Other than a small minority who have their own business, most of these men worked as pedicab drivers, coolie laborers, or clerks in stores. Men who have some land in the village usually have jobs driving a pedicab or pulling a vegetable cart which permit them freedom to return home for the harvest or other busy agricultural seasons. Some villagers, who have been in Taipei long enough to save some money, manage to buy their own pedicab or vegetable cart. Those who do not usually rent them by the day.

It is common for girls or women to work as cooks or domestic servants. Villagers who work as house servants or clerks have frequently been referred to their jobs through a relative, friend, or fellow villager before leaving the village. The villager usually lives in the home or store of the employer. On the other hand, the villager engaged in the other forms of labor usually shifts for himself. In such cases, if the man does not have his family in Taipei, he often shares a small room with several other villagers who also work in the city. The men share the room rent and get their meals at restaurants or sidewalk food stands.

If the young male villagers live in their employer's quarters, their activities are usually rather closely supervised. However, young males, especially those who work as pedicab drivers and live on their own, often get into trouble—drinking, gambling, frequenting bars, and visiting prostitutes. Sometimes they fall in with groups of boys who engage in gang fights. The boy's family first notices something is wrong when he fails to send money home. The family either questions other adult villagers who have returned from Taipei or writes to a villager in Taipei to discover what is wrong. When they find out about the boy's activities, they send word to him to return home.

Another group of young villagers likely to get into difficulties in Taipei is the younger married men who leave their wives in the village. Sometimes, they become involved with other women in the city or even take a second wife. This results in family conflict and occasionally leads to divorce and bad feeling between the husband's family and that of his first wife.

While most parents are aware of the possibly corrupting influences on their sons who go to Taipei, they nevertheless rationalize their fears because the additional income is so useful to the family. It is only after something happens and the boy is actually in trouble that they call him home.

Not only has working in Taipei had direct gross effects on the men who go there but it has also greatly affected the role of women and children who remain in the village.

588 After that he came and got Ong Cui-kim to live with him for a few months, but she didn't like her mother-in-law and came back here frequently. All three of her children were born here and not at his house. The last time she came home she just didn't return. The reason was that her mother-in-law loaned her some gold jewelry to wear to a festival in our village. Then the mother-in-law got to thinking that she might run away with the jewelry, so she hurried down here and took it back. Ong Cui-kim would never go back to their house after that."

589 Of the nine women who clearly did not marry by their thirtieth [732] year one is a deaf mute. Her family has tried to arrange a marriage for her, but have been unable to find anyone willing to accept such [584] a girl as a daughter-in-law. Another case is that of Ong A-chiou who refused to marry her foster brother but remained living with her foster family anyway. As she is a relatively young woman, she may 595 still marry, although she herself thinks this unlikely. A third case 573 involves a young woman named Ong Chun-mui whose foster parents coerced 589 her into living with a village man who was for a long time the hegemon of a number of village gangs operating in the Hsulin area. Ong Chun-mui herself told us that when this man first approached her she was afraid of him "because he was a well-known gang leader and had many girlfriends, and I was afraid that he would beat me if I did anything he didn't like." But her parents were pleased with the prospect of such an alliance, and eventually asked the man to come and live in their house. As Ong Chun-mui explained, "He could make very good money, and [505] he helped our family a lot. He bought a boat for my father so he could work ferrying people across the river, and during the first year he lived here he spent a lot of money because both my grandmother and grandfather died that year and he paid for their funerals." Despite

595 this inauspicious beginning, the union was apparently as happy as most
593
589 village marriages. The man was attacked by a rival gang, and when he died from his wounds, Ong Chun-sui was more sincerely upset than the man's own wife. In her words,

> "The first few months after he died I didn't want to go on living. I spent a lot of time then with my foster mother. He was very good to my family, and I lived with him for a long time. I think that this year I will make a tablet and pai-pai to him on Ching Ming Chieh."

[MM]

589 Ng Ong-sueq is another village woman who did not marry. Her
595 eldest child was a girl whom she gave away in adoption, and her three younger children are all sons. The eldest of these three boys was born while she was working as a prostitute in Taipei, and the younger boys were both fathered by an elderly man who has kept her as his mistress for nine or ten years. A wealthy man with a wife and several married sons as well as other mistresses, Ng Ong-sueq's benefactor spends most of his nights in Hsiachichou, usually eating his evening meal with Ng Ong-sueq and her parents and children. Ng Ong-sueq's parents provide the rice and vegetables, and their guest brings the meat. He also gives Ng Ong-sueq NT$1500 a month and buys "lots of candy and other things for the children." What worries Ng Ong-sueq is that this man "is very old now and cannot live very much longer, and I will then have to go out and find another man to support me."
[842] In order to prepare for this day Ng.Ong-sueq has had a hysterectomy "because no man would be willing to spend a lot of money to support so many children." Her hope is that her present support will live long enough to put her children through school, which he has apparently

595 589 promised to do. "His own children are very capable and have good jobs, and so if my children had someone to teach them they would do well too. They come from good stock." A frank intelligent woman with a good deal of perspective, Ng Cng-sueq was probably telling the truth when she said that she does not really care what happens to her now. "If I don't eat well, it doesn't matter. I don't care about myself. I'. just want my children to do well, and then I will have someone to support me in my old age." [137]

548 589 The most common cause of a woman's not marrying is her parents' desire to arrange a matrilocal marriage and their inability to do so. When a family has only daughters of marriageable age and cannot find a man willing to make a matrilocal marriage, they often have no choice but to send one of their daughters to work as a prostitute, for this is the only way in which a woman can make a substantial contribution to her family's income. We know of at least three cases in which such a situation was the cause of a woman's remaining unmarried, and this may also have been the case with Ng Cng-sueq. Since her parents' only children are two adopted daughters, they undoubtedly attempted to arrange a matrilocal marriage for at least one of them. That they were unable to do so is not very surprising, however, as the family is so poor that no man would see this as a very attractive match. In order to provide for their most basic needs one of the daughters had to go out to work as a prostitute.

584 597 589 The only other unmarried woman about whom we have any reliable information is that of Ong Ti-sai. Born into a village family with a

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As a point of fact, Lim Hue-lieng's marriage had little effect on his daily life. He did not live in the family home and took no interest in their daily activities. The marriage did, however, add one more chapter in the growing legend of his great personal power. He became the hero of one of the most popular village tales of sexual prowess. It was his boast and the favorite story of his admirers that he spent only two nights in Lim A-pou's bed: on his wedding night he gave her Lim A-bok, and some years later when a typhoon forced him to spend the night in the village, he gave her Masa. The rest of his nights were spent with a series of mistresses of whom even the most salacious village gossips have long since lost track. Finally, when his first-born son was about two years old, Lim Hue-lieng settled down more or less permanently with a village girl, Lim So-lan, the adopted daughter of another Lim family.

Because my assistant came to know Lim So-lan well during our stay in the village, So-lan was willing to tell us quite a bit about her life as Lim Hue-lieng's "second wife": "He only lived with his first wife for a few days just after they were married. After that he never stayed home at night. Before he began to live with me, he had a great many women, but he always left them after a little while because they were just interested in making money and would sleep with other men. When he first came to live with me, I was only seventeen years old. He had just returned from hiding from the police for a few months and had also just broken off with the last woman because she slept with someone else while he was away. His eldest son was about two years old then. He was a good friend of my foster mother, and often joked with her about me, telling her that he wanted to come and live with me. I was working in the river then, gathering rocks, and saw him there every day because he was the head of all of the people doing that kind of work. At that time my family was very poor because my father gambled too much. That year he gave us money to help us through New Year's. My mother was always urging me to marry him. I told her that he was a *lo mua* who had had a lot of girlfriends and would beat me if I did anything he didn't like. I was very afraid of him and ran away every time I saw him. When my mother said that she wanted me to marry him, I cried every night, but my mother knew that he made a lot of money and would help our family, and so finally she asked him to come and live in our house. He lived with our family for five or six years.

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"He was very good to our family, and after he came to live with us, my father didn't dare gamble any more. He rented a boat for my father so that he could work ferrying people across the river. The first year he came to live with us, he spent a lot of money helping us because that was the year that my father and my grandfather and my grandmother all died, and he paid for all their fu[illegible] The second year, I had my first child. This was my daughter, Gioq-ki. If it hadn't been for her, I would never have been able to live with him for so long because not long after she was born he began to go out with other women again. I wasn't as afraid of him then and so when I found out he had been with other women I would get mad and fight with him and then he would get really angry and go away. But he always came back, and that was because he wanted to see Gioq-ki. It seems strange that he should love her so much more than his sons [by Lim A-pou], but he did.

"When my younger brother was old enough to earn a living for my family, he moved me into a house in Tapu. He continued to give my family money though until after my brother got married. We lived in Tapu for eight years. During those years, we lived very well because he made a lot of money. He loved to have guests and on special occasions he would buy enough food to open a store. He had so many friends that you didn't know where to begin to count them.

"He could gather up a crew of workers very quickly and he was the head of workers in many different places. He did this kind of work until after the Restoration, and then he went into construction work. He got a lot of jobs moving factories and things like the winery back to where they had been before the war. The Japanese had moved them all up into the hills to save them from the American bombers. He was very much hated by the other people doing this kind of work because he always made the best bids and got the best jobs."

For a man who began with nothing, Lim Hue-lieng had risen far in terms of power and money by his early forties. It was at this time and, ironically, due to the moving of the winery back to Tapu that his career ended. The competition for this job had been more intense than usual, and Lim Hue-lieng's success even more resented. Lim Hue-lieng had probably not been completely fair in his methods because for some reason he agreed to share his profits on the job with some of his competitors. His admirers still prefer to think that this decision was his own, and only another example of his generosity, but this kind

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course after course of heavy food, there is little drunkenness, but the goal of the good host is to get most of his guests at least pink-cheeked or his dinner is not a success and his hospitality may be questioned. The businessman or official who has to look in on two or three of these ordeals in an evening learns to shift the favored "drain the glass" toast to a moderate sip. Not to develop this skill invites disaster since it is under these conditions that the major decisions in a man's business life are made.

Considerable planning must have gone into the dinner party for Lim Hue-lieng. He could avoid without offense as many toasts as any man, and he had a reputation for holding his liquor well. Perhaps that evening he was feeling more cautious about giving offense; perhaps, as some villagers believe, his liquor was tampered with; or perhaps he was simply careless. At any rate, he was toasted again and again and proved no match for the concerted efforts of seven men. He was brought home nearly senseless with drink. During the night, some unknown men secretly entered his house and efficiently severed the tendons of his knees, elbows, and fingers. The attack was designed to cripple, not to kill. It was two years before Lim Hue-lieng's wounds healed. When they did, he could neither walk nor clench his fists.

Lim Hue-lieng had loyal followers and friends, but during his long convalescence they necessarily formed new alliances and became involved in other business enterprises. When his injuries healed, it was apparent to everyone that he no longer had the physical strength prerequisite to his former occupations. A man who cannot walk cannot gather up gangs of men quickly, and a man who cannot clench his fists cannot enforce his terms. Lim Hue-lieng sold his house in Tapu and moved himself and his second wife and child back to his father's house in Peihotien.

Lim So-lan told me about those last years with Lim Hue-lieng: "We lived with them for over two years. I had never done much heavy work before, but after we moved there I had to do all kinds of hard work, even in the fields. I cried a lot in my stomach in those days, but I didn't complain. I gritted my teeth and did any kind of work that had to be done, and so his parents liked me, and for awhile we all got along very well. Then my husband decided to adopt A-hua, and that made his first wife angry. She went around telling everybody, 'They can't make any money and yet they go ahead and adopt another child for other people to feed.' She didn't dare say anything about it to him

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because he wasn't the kind of man who let others tell him what to do, but she said it to all the rest of the family. She hated me because Hue-lieng liked my Gioq-ki and A-hua and didn't pay enough attention to her children. Finally, she caused trouble between Hue-lieng's parents and me. It was because of her that they wouldn't speak to me after he died.

"When Hue-lieng saw that Lim A-pou and I weren't getting along very well, he bought this house I am living in now, and we moved here. This was when he began making wine. He fixed up the house next door and made the wine there. He really was making a lot of money again when the police made him stop."

Lim Hue-lieng's career in wine-making didn't last more than a couple of years. The production of wine was a government monopoly, and his activities were illegal, but he depended upon his former power and the loyalty of his former associates to keep the police looking the other way. Unfortunately, a really successful bootlegger soon comes to a good many people's attention simply by having a product superior to the government's wretched brew. Finally, his friends warned him that investigations were being made by people over whom they had limited influence. He heeded their warnings. Punishment for bootlegging on Taiwan is severe, but Lim Hue-lieng was not even fined. Nonetheless, he was again without an income. He still had many friends who visited him both for pleasure and for advice, and his wits soon turned this into a comfortable living. "After we had to stop making wine," Lim So-lan said, "my husband began inviting his friends here to gamble and that way we were able to earn enough money to live. At that time Gioq-ki had graduated from lower middle school and was studying to be a seamstress, but we didn't have enough money for her to continue studying. Before my husband was making money again with the gambling, a friend found her a job in a newspaper office in Taipei. It was there that she met Chang Jong-kuei. He brought much unhappiness to our family. Her father wanted her to marry a man who would be willing to be our adopted son because we have no sons. Besides that, Chang was a mainlander."

The kind of marriage Lim Hue-lieng planned for his daughter is common enough on Taiwan. The husband comes to live with the wife and her parents and, ideally, becomes more a son to the family than a son-in-law. He inherits whatever property the parents might have given a son and in return supports the parents in their old age as

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would a son. In some cases the man who makes this kind of marriage even changes his surname to that of his wife. If he doesn't, at least one of his children, usually the first born, bears the wife's surname to provide her family with genealogical descendants who will maintain their graves and carry out ancestral rites.

Lim Hue-lieng had two sons who out of family pride alone would fulfill these duties to him. Lim So-lan, however, had little or no status in his family and without a son-in-law who was obliged to support her, she might very well suffer after his death. And, what was to become of her after her own death if she had no one to provide for her in the other world with offerings from this one? Even if Lim Hue-lieng rejected, as do many young people of the present generation, the literal belief in the life of souls after physical death, he was pained by the incompleteness, the transitoriness, of his second family and wished to provide for it a future, a future which for a Taiwanese exists only in having descendants. His relationship with his sons by Lim A-pou was not close and, at best, formal. That he should wish to give permanence to his second family with whom his emotions and personal loyalties rested is not surprising. Moreover, he was excessively fond of Gioq-ki and he hated the thought of her leaving home.

All of Lim Hue-lieng's objections might have been overcome in one way or another had it not been for the origin of his daughter's suitor, Chang Jong-kuei. Even after fifty years under Japanese colonial administration, the Taiwanese viewed the restoration of their island to the Chinese government as a liberation. Their expectations were not fulfilled. Because of several tragic events followed by innumerable misunderstandings, there exists on Taiwan an attitude of scorn and distrust between the Chinese native to the island and those who came after the establishment of the Communist regime on mainland China. It is not my place here to evaluate either side but simply to point out that Lim Hue-lieng's reaction to having a mainlander as a son-in-law was in no way unusual. When his eldest son heard of the alliance proposed by his half-sister, he was as angry as his father at the shame the girl was bringing to their family. Only the intervention of some wiser friends prevented him from solving the problem in a way that his father might have used at his age, a gathering of *lo mua* friends. A half-brother's anger, however, is of a different sort than a father's. Gioq-ki's father was both angry and hurt. Lim So-lan told me, "Gioq-ki wouldn't pay any attention to her father. He tried every-

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thing. When he warned her that she couldn't live at home or at her grandfather's, she answered, 'All right, I won't come back here at all.' She moved to Taipei and lived with Chang. My mother and I cried every day for hours and her father got angrier and angrier. He said he would kill her if he found her. She made his life miserable. He told me once, 'All my life I have been very careful of my family's name and I have scorned other people who did such things as this. Never did I think my own daughter would marry one of them.'

"We hated Chang for tricking our daughter away from us. He knew she was our only daughter and his heart must be very hard that he could steal a family's only child.

"Later my husband's friends told him that he must forget all this and let them get married. We finally had to agree. There was nothing more we could do because Gioq-ki was about to have a child.

"One thing is very strange. My husband threatened to kill Gioq-ki and this man, but after they were married and his grandson was born, he treated them very well. I think he was really fond of them by the time he died."

Not long after the birth of his grandson, Lim Hue-lieng fell ill, evidently from something connected with his injuries. His last illness was long and trying, but it wasn't until his death was imminent that his father had him moved to the family home. A relative of the family told me of those last weeks: "Lim So-lan took care of him all alone while he was ill and during the last stages she was with him day and night. Lim A-pou didn't seem to pay any attention to him at all and acted as though she thought, 'This doesn't concern me.' When Lim Hue-lieng died, So-lan cried for days and days, but his wife, Lim A-pou, didn't grieve at all."

Lim So-lan told me very simply, "The first few months after he died I didn't want to go on living. I spent a lot of time with my mother then. He was very good to my family and even though he was not really my husband, I lived with him for a long time. This year I will have a tablet made and burn incense for him on Ch'ing Ming Chieh."

Very little of my information about Lim Hue-lieng's life came from his younger brother, Lim Chieng-cua. Lim Chieng-cua was quite frank about the various roles the *lo mua* have played in the history of the village and its present affairs. His opinion of them is not always negative, but he always uses the term *lo mua* to refer to a collective group and rarely to a specific person or his contributions. On occasion

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chapter 6

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LIM SO-LAN: A SECOND WIFE

About twenty years ago a former villager who still owned a building site in the heart of Peihotien decided that his land should be earning money. On it he built a long brick building that looks very much like a warehouse. He cut four doorways in the front and a smattering of windows and fitted the interior into four separate apartments. Two of the apartments were sold to their present occupants; the other two are leased by families who came to the village within the last ten years. All four families are fragments. They each have an ancestral altar in their guest halls, but two of the altars, though littered with images of gods and ritual paraphernalia, lack ancestral tablets. There are ancestral tablets on the other two altars, but the surnames on them are not the same as that of the family who burns incense before them. The apartments are spacious, in good repair, and in all but one case show evidence of an adequate income. But, the people who live in them are not families in the Taiwanese sense of the word. Their past is not tied to a neat line of descendants; their present is in a house that displays no confidence in the future—wings cannot be added on to an apartment to shelter future generations of married sons and grandsons.

Lim Hue-lieng bought the largest apartment in this row house when he moved his second wife and his daughters out of his father's house. Lim So-lan still lives there with her two daughters, her eldest daughter's husband, and her three grandchildren. She is in her middle forties now and looks her age. She wears the modified Western clothes

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typical of her generation; once or twice a year she has a permanent wave; she does not wear lipstick or resort to any of the other subterfuges of aging pretty women; she has put on a little weight; she would never be noticed in a crowd. Lim So-lan looks and acts the part of a respectable, middle-aged, village housewife. Even the most malicious gossip in the village can only say of her, "She is a good person. Quiet. Hardworking."

Lim Hue-lieng did not leave his second wife in a very comfortable position. She told me with no bitterness, "We didn't try to save money. We ate very well right up to the day he died." He left her the house, but he also left her with some debts that were either unknown to his father's family or ignored by them. Many women in her position would have refused the bills and sent the creditors to her husband's family, but Lim So-lan chose to settle her own affairs. I heard the following conversation between Lim So-lan's aged mother and a relative from a nearby village.

Relative: "Your So-lan is always busy. She is really a worker."

So-lan's mother: "How can she be anything else? If she didn't work hard, how could she pay off the debts her husband left her? She is always asking people if they need help in the fields. She will do any kind of work."

Relative: "Has she paid that money off yet?"

So-lan's mother: "To the outside people, yes, but she still owes NT$3500 to our family. The thing that really worries her is that daughter of hers, Gioq-ki. Gioq-ki gambles too much and that really makes her mother mad. She usually is the one who has to pay the money that Gioq-ki loses. My So-lan is trying to save some money for herself now. A-hua gives her all the money she makes in the factory, but even though Gioq-ki's children are always begging for pocket money from So-lan, Gioq-ki never gives her any household money. The money the children get for candy is all their grandmother's.

"The only money So-lan owes now is to our family and she doesn't have to pay it back if she doesn't want to. It doesn't matter. She can pay it back if she wants to, but she doesn't have to."

One of Lim So-lan's close friends elaborated on the family's finances: "A-hua gives all of the money she earns in her uncle's factory to So-lan. So-lan works at odd jobs too, and the money they make pays for coal, electricity, soap, and things like that. Gioq-ki's husband pays for the family's food. Gioq-ki owes a lot of money

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*596 Lim A-
*159 pou was no more communicative than usual, but she did make a few
152 terse comments about Chang's origin and what might be expected
837 under the circumstances. The relationship between Lim Hue-lieng's
• 595 two families is intriguing. None of the women in the main family are what I came to call "wanderers," that is women who of an afternoon turn up in different houses or at the various gathering places in search of conversation and the latest gossip. Lim Chui-ieng has few friends in the village because of her sharp tongue and her snobbishness. Lim A-pou is too busy and as much as possible keeps her daughter-in-law busy, although the latter manages to slip over to the Ong compound more frequently than her mother-in-law realizes. (The Ongs are distantly related to the girl and served as go-between for her marriage.)
[521] The Lim family, however, has far too interesting a potential for village gossip to be isolated. There is a steady trickle of women visiting them, watching Lim A-pou in her ceaseless activity, laughing at her daughter-in-law in her ceaseless inefficiency, and smiling at Lim Chui-ieng in her determined attempt to play the great lady. Not once in my long stay did I see Lim So-lan in the house or talking to any of the women from the house. I could not fail to recognize, however, the honest pleasure on her face when she told me that Lim Chieng-cua had begun to drop into her house now that his friends were gathering there to play cards.

*159 Gioq-ki is another matter. She moves freely through the Lim
*596 house, even the sleeping rooms, poking into personal belongings, bor-
595 rowing knitting needles, much as any other daughter of the family. She is equally relaxed with Lim Chieng-cua, her uncle, as she is with her half-brother, Lim A-bok, but what really surprised me is the ease with which she sits down for a visit with Lim A-pou who has more reason to resent her than anyone else in the family. Gioq-ki's naughty children use the house as freely as they do the house in which their grandmother grew up. More than once I have seen Lim A-pou pick up and comfort the older boy after a fall. During several of the long years of childhood, Gioq-ki considered the house of Lim her home—long before she was old enough to understand the delicacy of her relationship. Her personality is such that she could not bear to know that the house of one of the most important families in the village, a family that is closely related to her, is also closed to her. For once she has had the good sense to move cautiously around subjects that are the source of strain within the main family. She has not openly taken

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sides with either Lim Chieng-cua's part of the family or Lim A-pou's. I could never lead her or her mother into a discussion of the schism in the main family, and in answer to direct questions I received only cluckings of sympathy. In trying to decide where their sympathies might most reasonably rest, I found myself hard put to come up with a feasible hypothesis. Lim Chieng-cua's coolness to his brother and, until recently, complete disregard of his brother's second wife, should disincline them to favor his side, even though he is the head of the household. Lim A-pou's ill treatment of So-lan and the latter's uneasy compunction at having contributed to Lim Hue-lieng's estrangement from his legal family would not particularly make for close ties with that part of the family either, even though there are undeniable blood ties in the second generation. I was left with a frustrating if dignified lack of information which was not the case with any of the other family fragments related to the Lims.

To the casual observer, Lim So-lan's position in the world is quite good. The quarrels between her daughters and between Gioq-ki and her husband probably attract more attention than do other family quarrels because of the strong personalities involved, but not because they are outside the broad range of behavior considered normal in Taiwanese society. Lim So-lan is respected by all who know her as a woman who works hard, pays her debts, and is not inclined to ease her loneliness with malicious gossip. The family income is sufficient for them to eat well and to dress appropriately. They fulfill their social and financial obligations at the weddings and funerals of relatives and give an acceptable number of feasts during the religious festivals. There is nothing indecorous about the fact that So-lan allows gamblers to use her house since they are not professional gamblers and do not bring in outsiders. Her older daughter's difficult personality is accepted with the sigh that covers most idiosyncracies in the village population. Gioq-ki herself has been far too busy with her own problems to meddle in her neighbors' lives.

But in terms of the main tenets of Taiwanese life, Lim So-lan has been tossed into a side pool that must dry up and cease to be. Her marriage (a term which even the most rigid villager would use to describe a liaison that existed for so many years) was irregular in that the children born to her are not descendants of her husband's family. Lim So-lan has no ancestors and her husband's ancestors are the property of the main family. If Lim Hue-lieng and his wife had mar-

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If Lim Hue-lieng and his wife had married Gioq-ki to a young Taiwanese willing to enter their family as an adopted son and descendant, he could have provided the family with a future in the true Taiwanese sense of the word—a chain of descendants continuing for generations after the personalities of the present representatives are forgotten. Even if Gioq-ki and her husband had given one of their sons the Lim surname, obliging him to make offerings to his grandparents' ancestral tablets, there would have been some hope for a future family. Chang Jong-kuei, for reasons known only to him, was unwilling to give even this solace. Although he let his father-in-law believe that the oldest boy bore the Lim surname, he secretly registered him as a Chang.

The marriage of A-hua, So-lan's adopted daughter, is yet to be arranged, and many childless couples have provided their link between past and future through the marriage of an adopted daughter. But times are changing; couples are making their own decisions about marriage partners; young men are now less willing to make the low prestige marriage that cuts them off from their own ancestors and joins them to someone else's. So-lan had little luck with Gioq-ki and it will be difficult to arrange a good match for A-hua. An adopted daughter's inheritance is always questionable when there is a "real" daughter alive. Due to her own ingenuity and the assumed loyalty of her daughters, Lim So-lan need not worry about support for her old age, but she must be satisfied with a pseudo-family that will end with her death. She no longer dreams of a house that can be enlarged to shelter generations of descendants—an apartment in a row house is her present and she has no future. If after her death anyone thinks to make an ancestral tablet for her, it will rest uneasily on an altar dominated by other surnames—a meaningless piece of wood, a link without a chain.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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This lapse undoubtedly colored, if it did not start, the rift between her and her foster brother, Lim Chieng-cua. One evening before the death of either his father or his elder brother, Lim Chieng-cua walked into a thatch tool shelter in one of the family's distant fields and found A-pou and a hired man in compromising circumstances. He soundly thrashed the hired man who has never been seen in the area since, and then administered the same treatment to A-pou. Exercising his usual good judgement, Lim Chieng-cua did not mention the incident to anyone, other than my informant, thereby saving his foster sister's reputation and his father's peace of mind. The effect this strange incident had on whatever relationship had prevailed between Lim Chieng-cua and his foster sister can only be imagined.

A-pou's marriage, if it may be called that, seemed to change her very little. She chose to ignore her rival. When I asked one of her neighbors how it was that she allowed her husband to bring his second wife into the Lim family home, I was answered with laughter. "He was a *lo mua*. How could she dare to say anything about what he did? You have heard about his temper. When he stamped his foot the noise was like thunder. She wouldn't dare say anything to him."

It has been said that A-pou didn't make life easy for Lim So-lán when she lived in the house but I doubt that her displeasure was ever voiced. However, after the death of her husband and then of her father, people began to notice a change in A-pou, particularly people in the family. Chui-ieng, her sister-in-law, told me bluntly, "Before they died she was quiet, minded her own business, and didn't say anything. Now she is exactly the opposite." Obviously, this is an overstatement, but it comes closer to the Lim A-pou I knew than to the one described to me. She is still quiet and she still minds her own business, but her opinion as to what is her business seems to have broadened. To mind it requires that she speak up, if not herself, at least through her son. As long as her foster father was alive, she was confident that she and her sons would share the family's fortune, good or bad, in the same way as other family members, but many things changed with the death of this strong-willed man. As the eldest adult male, Lim Chieng-cua is the head of the family now, but his foster sister is the widow of the man who would have occupied this status had he lived. When Lim Chieng-cua makes a decision affecting the welfare of the family, he is obliged to consult her. Aside from the personal animosity between them, they speak across a barrier of mis-

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independence and thereby, elevate their status and security.

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Money-lending clubs are extremely popular in Sanlei and about six or seven are in process at any moment in time. The participants are drawn from about two thirds of the households; some households contain more than two participants, i.e., the man participating as a household head and his wife participating with her personal money. Some men belong to several clubs simultaneously, but women usually belong to only one at a time. In one case, Liao Chi-hsing, a farmer at the middle level of income in the community, belonged to four simultaneously at a cost of over $1,000.00 monthly.

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With their inter-locking memberships, money-lending clubs are a unifying force in the village. Both males and females participate in the same clubs and either sex may be a club originator. This is one of the few village organizations in which both sexes formally participate competitively as relative equals. However, because of other kinds of values, a husband and his wife do not participate in the same club.

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Chieh Pai Hsiung Ti (Sworn Brothers Association)

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A sworn brothers association is a pseudo-kinship group of males who are friends and age mates, i.e., within an age span of two to four years. Each association is formed by a group of twenty or so young men when they are between the ages of 17 and 24. Rarely do the members live more than one or two villages apart at the time the

585 wedding of an adopted-in husband is nearly the mirror image of this, the wedding feast held at the home of the bride.

184 595 Of course, many marriages are not this elaborate. In the case of a marriage between very poor people, many older people living alone, or if between a son and adopted daughter, there may be no marriage party or ritual recognition at all. Villagers refer to these kinds of marriage 587 as "putting the shoes under the bed" (See Glossary C). The latter type is also common for remarriage after divorce or death of a spouse for there is some disapproval of a second marriage, but nevertheless, everyone agrees a man or woman with small children must remarry fairly quickly. Only 586 people with older children regularly fail to remarry. In a divorce, children are expected to remain with the father or, if he was an adopted-in husband, shared between father and mother.

587 The remarriage of a widow with children is expected to be with an adopted-in husband. By bearing a child, a woman has been fully incorporated into her first husband's family who will therefore probably play a part in the selection of the second husband. The second husband agrees to provide financial support for her previous children and if she had had several (which would likely reduce her marriage prospects), one may be given in adoption to a second husband as a marriage inducement.

587 765 There is no long period of mourning holding up a remarriage. The day after the funeral of a miner killed in